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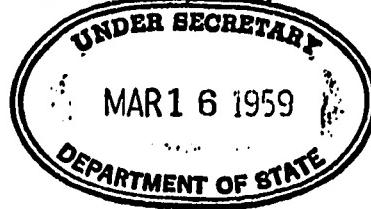
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THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 1959



Dear Chris:

The attached paper, which has been prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff regarding the policy on Berlin and Germany, is forwarded to you for your information and without further comment on my part. This paper has been prepared by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in an effort to contribute to imaginative thinking about the Berlin and German problem and represents serious thought on their part.

Should you or members of your staff wish to discuss this with a representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we will be glad to see that such a meeting is arranged on short notice.

Sincerely,

Dale

Honorable Christian A. Herter
Acting Secretary of State

Attachment

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...delegations of THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, and therefore is
subject to the United States, WASHINGTON, D.C., 20501.

SCHE-92-59

16 MAR 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Subject: Statement of Policy on Berlin and Germany (C)

1. The Soviet Union continues to pursue an uncompromisingly aggressive policy designed to achieve its goal of global hegemony. A repeated Soviet tactic in connection with this policy is the creation of crises designed to divide and weaken the Free World. The current Berlin crisis is the most flagrant and dangerous example. Regardless of the geographical area of issues involved in the crises, the Soviet policy has been consistent in one vital aspect. The Soviets have pursued a bold, dynamic, expansive strategy designed to improve their situation versus the Free World with demands for changing the world situation in the Soviets' favor. Their final fall-back position is always the status quo. On the side of the Free World there often has been relative passivity and lack of initiative. The Western Powers seem to have developed a standard response to the Soviet-created crisis: "How far can we retreat from the status quo but still not SERIOUSLY jeopardize our security or prestige?" This attitude apparently stimulates the Soviet appetite for ever bolder adventures.
2. To reverse this psychology, with particular reference to the Berlin crisis, a drastic revision of United States - German policy should be considered. The alternative positions which follow are considered good illustrative examples worthy of consideration. These examples, or a combination thereof, could provide the basis for alternative approaches when the United States positions on the problem are being considered by the Secretary of State.

PREAMBLE

"The announced turnover by the Soviet Union to the East Germans on 27 May or thereafter of East Germany including access routes between West Germany and Berlin, represents an unwarranted

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unitural abrogation of international agreements and therefore is unacceptable to the United States, the "U.K. and France."

Examples of Alternative Additions to the Forgoing PREAMBLE Follow:

Alternative One:

"The United States, the U.K. and France serve notice on the Soviet Union that if it implements the turnover the United States, the U.K. and France will consider that all agreements with the Soviet Union regarding Germany will have been abrogated and will immediately recognize the Federal Republic of Germany as the legal and sole government of all Germany. The Governments of the United States, the U.K. and France reserve the right to take any action considered necessary to support this status of the Federal Republic of Germany as may be agreed between these governments."

Alternative Two:

"The United States, the U.K. and France serve notice on the Soviet Union that if it implements the turnover the United States, the U.K. and France will consider that the Soviet Union will have abrogated all of its agreements regarding Quadripartite occupational authority and responsibilities in Germany. In this event, the United States, the U.K. and France immediately reserve the right to maintain the occupational authority of the occupational powers in Germany, which the Soviet Union will have abrogated, and the right to exercise, in any or all parts of Germany, the occupational authority heretofore exercised by the Soviet Union."

Alternative Three:

"The United States, the U.K. and France serve notice on the Soviet Union that if it implements the turnover the United States, the U.K. and France will consider that the Soviet Union has withdrawn from its Quadripartite occupational agreements regarding Germany. Notwithstanding, the United States, the U.K. and France are prepared to recognize the German Democratic Republic as the de facto provisional government of the Soviet occupation zone in Germany, pending reunification, provided that:

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"The USSR and the GDR recognize the right of the United States, the U.K. and France as occupying powers, to control absolutely and unconditionally all routes used by the U.S., the U.K. and French traffic between West Germany and Berlin;

"The GDR guarantees that it will preclude any interference with such U.S., the U.K. and French traffic for any reasons, including maintenance or overhaul of transportation facilities;

"The GDR guarantees the maintenance of conditions favorable to unimpeded trade and commercial relations between West Berlin, and the GDR, FRG, and other foreign countries.

"The GDR agrees to the continued presence of allied garrisons in West Berlin pending the resolution of the question of German reunification."

For the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

Signed

N. F. TWIDING,
Chairman,
Joint Chiefs of Staff,

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To [redacted]

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